

James H. Madison's *Hoosiers: A New History of Indiana*

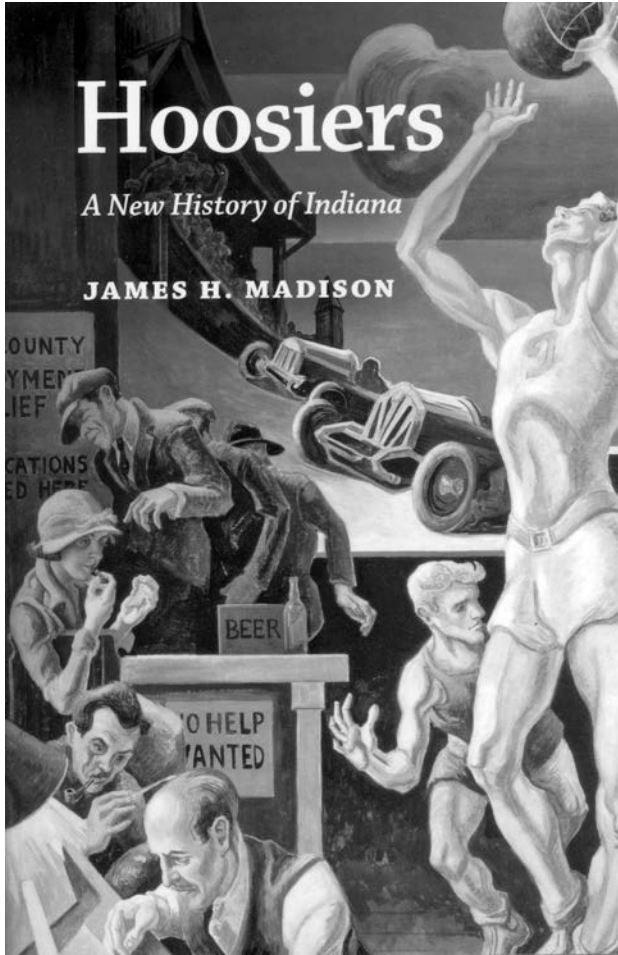
An IMH Roundtable

ANDREW R. L. CAYTON, ANN DURKIN KEATING,
AND RICHARD H. NATION

Earlier this year, the Indiana Historical Society Press and Indiana University Press collaborated on the publication of *Hoosiers: A New History of Indiana*, by IU Professor of History Emeritus (and former IMH editor) James H. Madison.

Any new work of Madison's is a matter of special interest to IMH readers; the arrival of a book that surpasses the scope of his previous Indiana history survey, *The Indiana Way* (1986) seems to the editors particularly worthy of note. Rather than commission a conventional review, the editors approached three prominent historians, each based in a neighboring state, to discuss the book and its place in the changing literature of midwestern history. Over the course of several weeks in October 2014, Professors Andrew R. L. Cayton (Miami University), Ann Durkin Keating (North

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Courtesy, Indiana University Press and Indiana Historical Society Press

Central College), and Richard H. Nation (Eastern Michigan University) conversed online with one another and with IMH Editor Eric Sandweiss. Their discussion, reprinted below, touches on Madison’s book, on the art of writing state histories, and on the particular historical character of Indiana and its people—which, as they argue, may or may not distinguish our state from its midwestern neighbors. The conversation has been lightly edited for length, grammar, and continuity.



Eric Sandweiss: You are historians based across the Old Northwest—in Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio. You’re all accustomed to thinking broadly about this region—and its successor, the Midwest—as a meaningful unit of study. My first question is simply this: Is there still a call to write state-based histories, as James Madison has just done? Do such books continue to answer meaningful historical questions, and do they remain as vital and as necessary as they were in a day when they took up a great deal more space on our library shelves?

Andrew Cayton: Yes, I believe state histories are still necessary. But I’m not sure that as many people think so as might have done half a century ago. Over the past generation, academic historians have moved well beyond political topics and the United States; we tend to organize the past by environments, landscapes, communities, and networks of people and commodities. State borders don’t mean much when it comes to topics such as family, labor, agriculture, race, and gender. Recent scholars have shown, for example, that the Ohio River connected, as much as or more than it separated, Ohio and Indiana from Kentucky. Given the development of regional transportation and communication networks and patterns of demography and industry, a focus on a state seems incomplete, if not distorted. Besides, midwestern states themselves are diverse places. Indiana is a case in point. Geographically, demographically, and historically, the state’s northern third has more in common with northern Ohio, southern Michigan, and northern Illinois than it does with southern Indiana. Further, Indiana lacked a major metropolitan area until the second half of the twentieth century. Thus Hoosiers, for better or worse, have been tied economically and culturally into Chicago, Cincinnati, or Louisville. For all these reasons and more, academic historians tend not to take state histories too seriously. They’re artificial constructs made by politicians, not legitimate reflections of lived experience.

On the other hand, the audience for state histories tends to consist of older, comfortable people who expect their histories to be sophisticated but somewhat upbeat. The first thing people looked for in my history of Ohio was their home town or their family name. They saw history as local, personal, and something of an escape from the problems of the present. So when state historians write about partisan divisions, ugly incidents, and racism, they risk losing much of their audience. It’s not that readers doubt the accuracy; they just don’t want to hear about it. They think of reading a state history as similar to visiting a public history site: you marvel at the absence of “modern conveniences” and assume that people were happier

because life was simpler. In the end, most of the readers are students in state history courses.

Still, I think state history matters, primarily because states matter. The growing attention to the power of the nation-state in the nineteenth century is reverberating at the state and local levels. If Indiana is an historically constructed entity created for political reasons that no one remembers, its General Assembly passes regulations and taxes that affect everyone from Gary to Madison, and its courts enforce laws often peculiar to the state. Indiana may be a variation on a midwestern theme, but the variation matters mightily if you live within its borders: even if your parents were from Pennsylvania and Virginia, you shop in Kentucky, and your children are fans of the Cincinnati Reds.

Writing state history, in other words, is useful business. But it's tricky, because authors are so often at cross-purposes with what academics think history should be and what the general reader wants history to be.

Everything I've said here I learned from James Madison. When I was asked to write a history of Ohio I thought of Jim, of how I admired his skill in navigating the straits of state history, and how much good I saw come of his work and his own participation in that field. I very likely wouldn't have written my book without Jim's example as a scholar and a writer. He also reminded me that state historians can become public intellectuals arguing for the standards, issues, and methods of academic scholarship while respecting the very different needs and concerns of their readers. I would argue that Madison has had as much as, or more of, a salutary impact on the ways in which Hoosiers think about their history than anyone in the past half-century. If that's not important work, I don't know what is.

Richard Nation: One of the more compelling reasons for continuing to study state history is that, for better or for worse, it often constitutes a component of the elementary curriculum. In turn, I think we need to ask ourselves why the elementary curriculum has these mandates for state history, and the best answer I can imagine is that for younger children, it is often pedagogically useful to connect the events of the past to a concrete place in the present. After all, such an action can serve a key function of de-mystification: students learn that the place they inhabit came into being because of the playing out of various historical forces. While such an approach flirts with being teleological, it nevertheless clearly presents history as a process and ultimately, when well done, as a result of historical choices—contingency.

I think that the things that make a more localized history work in the elementary classroom are applicable to more than just nine-year-olds. One of the fun things about reading Madison's book is seeing how he aptly sneaks in important themes from the American history canon into his portrayal of life in Indiana. An adult who finishes his book will have absorbed some broader interpretations about the American past, as well as the more detailed elements about Indiana. Nevertheless, the adults upon whom I hope it has the most impact are the elementary school teachers who will lean on it to teach their students. The history most people remember is the history they learned in elementary school; if Madison's book can inspire elementary teachers, many of whom enrolled in college state-history classes, to present a more sophisticated history, then he will have done a real service.

Approached a different way, I do think that it is necessary to look at a state-based history for the reasons that Madison alludes to in the book, which is to say that Indiana and other states have been what Benedict Anderson called "imagined communities." Part of our understanding of these communities derives from how they are constructed, what is included, who is left out. These are vital questions when we talk of local communities and they are equally vital when we speak of states and nations. When someone says "Hoosier," for example, I'm certain that few in Indiana and elsewhere will picture a person of African descent.

Moreover, in one very concrete way, Indiana remains distinct from Ohio, which is in turn distinct from Michigan, and so forth: each has its own internal politics derived from being a separate, sovereign state. Those internal politics have a history of their own and have a distinct impact on the residents of each state. I do believe that, since political life is the most visible form of a state's distinctiveness, state histories in turn have tended to focus upon politics. This focus, I'd argue, is part of what makes them seem so old-fashioned, in the wake of the social and cultural turns of the last fifty years of historical practice.

As someone who thinks of himself as a social and cultural historian, I can look at the southern Indiana that I have written about and recognize that, in many ways, it differs little from southern Illinois or southern Ohio—that it shares more in common with them than it does with the central plain of the state. I'd argue for even greater connection and continuity into Kentucky, through which a key migratory stream flowed. And yet there were real distinctions between those who remained in Kentucky and those who moved on to Indiana. At least some who came to Indiana, particularly after 1816, appreciated that it was a place that had forbidden



Madison's treatment of the "ambiguities" of Indiana's past challenges readers who, according to historian Andrew Cayton, often look to state histories for comfort and idolize the past because they "assume that people were happier because life was simpler."

Courtesy, David Gudaitis

slavery. At least some who remained in Kentucky chose to remain because it had not (or they moved to Missouri instead). Politics matter.

Let me finish by raising a question about the notion that state histories were once imagined more vital and necessary than they ever will be today. To what extent did state histories gain their vitality from their usefulness to those who embraced expanded notions of states' rights? Too often, history has been put at the service of nationalism—here is some of Anderson's original meaning of "imagined communities"—which leads me to wonder if there is a parallel in these state histories of which we should be glad to be rid.

Ann Durkin Keating: Place is a relevant factor in any history. My own work always begins with Kevin Lynch's central question: "What time is this place?" I attend closely to the nexus of time and place. It is not a surprise that I trained as an urban historian and bring an emphasis on place to any aspect of history about which I teach, research, think, or write about. From this perspective, state-based histories bring narrative history closer to specific places, producing a richer, deeper view of the past.

State-based histories also have a particular value in that they are political as well as geographical units. Residents have affirmed the sover-

eignty of their states. For Indiana, we are marking two hundred years of that sovereignty. My colleague John Reda at Illinois State University, who is studying the evolution of sovereignty in Missouri, reminds me of the importance of history to maintaining and understanding this power. So, state-based histories serve a further civics purpose in providing history for a group of people charged with creating and supporting government.

Of course, there is always a risk of becoming antiquarian and unable to see beyond the local—our task as historians is to keep that wider context in our interpretations of the past. We must always aspire to have a broader context in which to place our research or teaching. Someone like Jim Madison, who has spent his career not only in research but in the classroom, is well-equipped to keep this wider view.

ES: Let's tighten our focus a bit. Does Indiana—a place that has, as Madison writes, long been home to people who favor “evolutionary, not revolutionary” change—truly stand out from other midwestern polities? Would anyone who's inclined to respect the validity of state boundaries as a defining feature of a people's culture and history (and Richard suggests that such people may overlap with those who show equal interest in “states' rights”) not lay claim to their fellow citizens having fostered a similarly reasonable approach to the challenges of becoming modern? Do the people of Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan, for instance, not pride themselves on a similar pragmatism and stubbornness among their forebears? I'll be curious to know how your own states' histories have been and are now pitched, in terms of an overall valence that one might compare to Madison's “Indiana Way.”

ADK: As I read *Hoosiers*, I was struck with the early moment that Madison identified as central to Indiana's “evolutionary, not revolutionary” change: the 1830s, when the state government overextended itself in canals and other internal improvements. From this point, Indiana residents took a less proactive, more evolutionary approach to the future. While this same set of economic and social conditions applied to Illinois, that state's response differed—in part because it had not invested as heavily as Indiana and was a slightly newer state. Illinois's response was also different because Chicago-area residents demanded a more proactive response to the Panic of 1837. This demand certainly led to a different ethos (and thus a different history) in Illinois.

Such differences point out to me the value of a more deliberately comparative state history. The fact that Illinois had a different level of debt from

Indiana in the 1830s, and then developed a different ethos about public spending, is intriguing. It reminds me that the experiences of a founding generation can make a difference, that geography and resources matter, and that the range of settlers matters, even while adjoining states face many of the same larger currents of change. In a disciplinary environment where transnational histories have been central for some time, perhaps there is room for trans-state histories?

At the same time, the boundaries of states are a frustrating line. *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (2004) did not stop at state lines, but deliberately included all of two Indiana counties (and parts of others) in the Chicago metropolitan area. We chose this organic, rather than political, definition because we recognized that the Chicago region did not fit neatly within state lines.

RN: Since I am a historian of Indiana and a seventh-generation Hoosier (albeit one who hasn't lived in Indiana since I was seventeen), I'm not sure I have as much insight into this question as Eric would like. I know Illinois and Ohio better than I do Michigan; and I know Indiana better than I do all of them.

That said, I do think that the tendency toward evolutionary rather than revolutionary change can be found in all of these states—I might suggest that it is a tendency to be found throughout the American scene, at least outside the Deep South. My sense is that the more rapid pace of change in Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan comes about because of the greater influence of the urban areas in those states. I don't want to push too hard on rural-urban as the source of the differences, as there were definite rural roots to progressive causes elsewhere, particularly in the upper Midwest. In Michigan, the rural Republican Party, at least until the late twentieth century, seems to have had some of the same evolutionary-not-revolutionary approach to change that Madison characterizes as the Indiana Way. In Michigan, this evolution was sped up by the demands of Detroit, and my sense is that the same is true of Illinois and Ohio in relation to their metropolitan centers. The demands of an urbanizing society haven't been as deeply felt in Indiana—I think that is Madison's point as well. Indianapolis remained more rural in its outlook, and the Calumet region could be excluded from the state: the rest of Indiana has never seemed to me to consider "The Region" really Indiana—thanks, I fear, as much to its greater ethnic diversity as to its heavy industry. According to many down-staters, Chicago and thus Illinois can have The Region.

As tempting as it might be, I'm not sure that I can place quite as much emphasis on the failure of the internal improvements projects and

the Panic of 1837. In some ways, Michigan suffered worse than Indiana from the failure of its internal improvements scheme, but I'm not sure that that failure had the long-term impact on Michigan's political culture that it did in Indiana. Both Ohio (1851) and Michigan (1850) followed the panic with prohibitions on indebtedness that—while maybe less emphatic than Indiana's prohibition—clearly emanate from the same spirit. Illinois's constitution of 1848 has much the same language, but with a voter override. Ultimately, the willingness of each of the states to respect these limitations on indebtedness, and the manner and time in which they have amended these mid-nineteenth-century amendments, may be a measure of their adherence to the pace of evolution.

In short, I'm not sure I could ever draw a line between "evolution" and "revolution" that would distinguish one of these neighboring states from another. While they differ in the pace of change—and Indiana may well be the slowest—I think that almost all states imagine themselves as pragmatic and incremental, holding on stubbornly to things they value even while responding to modern needs. They likewise characterize states whose pace is slower as "reactionary" and those states whose pace is quicker as "revolutionary," "communist," etc.

Finally, if it is true that all states might characterize themselves as engaged in pragmatic evolution, then we might call into question the analytic usefulness of Madison's formulation. Still, even if it doesn't distinguish Indiana from its neighbors, I do think that that formulation permits Jim to explore all the tensions and even contradictions that Hoosiers face as they move toward modernity while clinging to at least some of their traditions.

AC: Evolution or revolution are difficult to distinguish. We tend not to see the latter in the Midwest in particular, I suspect, not because we associate it with radical change but because we associate it with big events, turning points, major moments when everything suddenly seemed different. It's hard to think of cataclysmic, decisive events in the histories of Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois. Plus, evolution fits better with the popular image of the Midwest as a place of normalcy, moderation. It's a place, in theory, of steady habits.

But if we turn away from political events and look at long-term change, I do see revolutions. An example would be the American conquest and settlement of the region at the turn of the nineteenth century. In a lifetime, a world of forests and furs populated by French and Native peoples (and their children) gave way to a world of Americans and commercial agriculture (and far fewer Native peoples). Comparing the landscape and

population of Indiana in 1780 with those of 1840, it's hard to imagine more far-reaching, all-encompassing change, and all in the span of sixty years. You could say the same thing about railroads and cars: sometimes transformation and the accompanying social changes take a while to register, but when they do, they seem normal. Consider the revolution in social media in my lifetime. Computers and cell phones have made the world of 2014 very different from the one I knew when I started teaching at Ball State University in 1981. The unanticipated social changes—on family, privacy, celebrity, teaching, journalism, etc.—lagged behind the technology. It's only now that we're starting to think about the long-term ramifications of what seemed like fun toys and conveniences when they first appeared.

I guess, then, I cast my vote for a greater deal of revolution (socially, economically, and culturally, if not politically) in Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois than we usually think.

ES: Let's turn to an area that does "distinguish Indiana from its neighbors": the strong influence of Anglo-Irish southern immigration upon the culture and politics of a good portion of the Hoosier state. Maybe it's not true that Indiana represents, as one Bloomington writer has put it, an "upraised middle finger" from the South into the heart of the Midwest, but Madison continues to make a pretty strong case that white southern traditions account for a great deal of Indiana's distinctive history. As historians, we know that these traditions have long suffered at the hands of people in our profession who preferred a narrative of progress, efficiency, and moderation—a narrative that has somehow marginalized or even caricatured southern contributions to American culture and politics.

If such biases lie behind us, can we still find a way to talk, as Madison does, about the influence of the South upon Indiana history? Could you say, in contrast, that your own states' historical, political, and even physical landscapes look different from Indiana's, by virtue of their relatively weaker southern influence? Or do you find the notion of regional cultural influences to be dated or simplistic?

AC: Ohio has had a very strong southern influence, from its founding as a state—largely by Virginians—through the central role of Copperheads during the Civil War and into the massive migration of white and black southerners, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century. A large number of Germans distinguishes southern Ohio from the rest of the state. Otherwise, the region has much more in common culturally and politically with Appalachia and Nashville than it does with Cleveland and north-

eastern Ohio. That has to do with water as well as migration. Like much of Indiana, much of Ohio drains to the south into the Ohio River, which links cities such as Cincinnati with other river cities. Nineteenth-century historians are now hard at work showing that labor and economic systems were not as different on the south side of the Ohio from the north. In many ways, the Yankee influence in Cincinnati peaked in the middle of the nineteenth century. Ultimately, I agree that Ohio as a whole is less southern than Indiana, not because southerners didn't move there, but because the northern third of Ohio was more heavily populated, more ethnically diverse, and more industrial than northern Indiana. As a state, Indiana has tended to be more demographically and culturally homogeneous than its neighbors because of the lack of a major urban center in the north.

The other point I would make is to beware of using the label "southern" indiscriminately. What do we mean when we talk about southern migrants? There are huge differences between people who migrated from the Mississippi Delta and those who moved from eastern Tennessee. Getting into the question of Indiana's southern character will surely get us into serious trouble with historians of the South who will wonder exactly who, when, and where we're talking about.

RN: Andrew's last thought was my first one: that it is problematic to describe a monolithic southerner. In the nineteenth century, the South itself was riven by deep conflicts over a variety of issues—the fact that, by mid-century, most southerners agreed on slavery doesn't mean they weren't divided by other issues. And in the end, some of that southern consensus on slavery was reached by emigration of those southerners who didn't want to live in a slave society. Where did these migrants go—to the Old Northwest. Driving home the point, there is some evidence that Upland Southerners played significant roles in supporting the exclusion of slavery from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, against other southerners (tidewater?) who sought slavery.

Work done years ago by geographer John Hudson, however, gives credence to the image of the middle finger. As I have read his maps, the triangle from Indianapolis down to Louisville and Evansville forms the greatest deviation from the typical east-west American migration patterns, at least east of the Rockies. Working from memory on studies of the 1850 census, I am under the impression that even central Indiana is more southern than central Ohio and central Illinois. Yet when a portion of those white southerners were North Carolina Friends, I think we've got to consider the variety of southerners.

James Bergquist's IMH article, "Tracing the Origins of a Midwestern Culture: The Case of Central Indiana" (volume 77, March 1981) has always seemed to me a good starting point for seeing the culture of central Indiana (and ultimately the Midwest) as an amalgam of various migration streams, rather than as an example of the troubling (at least to me) notion that there are dominant, relatively static cultural modes for given locales. In the nineteenth century, I see a good portion of the Midwest as characterized by various migratory streams, including multiple sources of "German" migrants coming together with Quakers from both North Carolina and Pennsylvania, Upland Southerners, those from the Mid-Atlantic, and a leavening of Yankees—the latter very light in Indiana, heavier in Ohio and Illinois, and heavier still here in Michigan. Maybe my real answer to Eric's question is that it is the absence of many Yankees that matters for Indiana through the late nineteenth century, more than the presence of Upland Southerners.

That said, by the twentieth century, as Drew Cayton points out, the real balancing of the influence of southern folkways and influence in Ohio, and I'd surmise Illinois, was the rise of these significant urban centers in the northern parts of these states, one that didn't happen to as great a degree in Indiana. (One might argue that it is Yankee investors that drove such industrialization that led to heavy urbanization, but I'll need more evidence before I'm convinced.) Yet, as Cayton points out as well, there is a second significant migration of southerners, white and black, into the industrial cities of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan in the twentieth century. Ypsilanti, Michigan, the community where I live, is often derided as "Ypsitucky," an allusion to the large numbers of Appalachians who moved here, particularly to work at Willow Run during the Second World War. Some of the deep cultural conflicts this engendered locally have only now begun to dissipate. Likewise, in the small town where I grew up in central Indiana, I am now aware, as I was not as a teenager, that there were some similar conflicts between established families in the community—a number of whom could trace parts of their lineage back to the Friends—and the Appalachian migrants who settled there in the forties and fifties, commuting to the auto plants in New Castle, Anderson, and Indianapolis. The Appalachian migrants in both locales seem more culturally conservative than the established families. In Michigan, at least, it sometimes seems like it is this group of people—the so-called Reagan Democrats—who hold something of the political balance of power. How that measures out culturally, I'm not sure. But a position as a swing voting bloc seems to me at least to magnify the importance of a group beyond their actual numbers.



Madison, shown here in front of a 1958 Studebaker Silver Hawk, “aptly sneaks in important themes from the American history canon into his portrayal of Indiana,” such as the role of industrialization in the growth of the state economy.

Courtesy, David Gudaitis

To answer Eric’s question, it’s worth discussing a southern influence in all four states represented in these discussions. However, many of the models we’ve used in the past to talk about regional cultural influences may be insufficiently dynamic in their appreciation of how “culture” works and how it changes according to the particularities of time and place.

ADK: I shall heed the caution of both my colleagues on wading into this question, particularly as I am far removed from southern history. But Madison’s book shows that attention to issues often considered more fully by southern historians has value in understanding Indiana history (and U.S. history more broadly).

First, to the era of the Civil War: While Madison notes that well before the war, slavery was “the South’s business, not Indiana’s” (p. 143), he shows the deep rancor of Indiana politics and public life in the 1850s and 1860s. Particularly revealing were debates about emancipation and the draft. Madison reminds us that this truly was a civil war, not simply one region against another, and that the fissures ran deep in Indiana.

Madison also takes up another story often left to southern history: that of the Klan. By identifying three separate Klans (over time and space) he moves this story beyond a regional discussion. Building on his own path-

breaking work, he shows that the Indiana Klan was distinct from both the Klan that “appeared in the South after the Civil War,” as well as from the Klan that emerged in the 1960s as a reaction to the civil rights movement (p. 242). Madison carefully negotiates the regional and national facets of this story, reminding us of the value (and limitations) of a single state or regional focus. His work is most powerful (as it is in the Klan discussion) when the reader understands the trans-state and transnational trends in which Indiana rests.

ES: I’d like to conclude by discussing the more recent past. *Hoosiers* concludes with three chapters covering different aspects of the changes seen in our lifetimes—the last half-century or so. As a Hoosier reader, I got the impression that Jim Madison has covered his bases pretty well: there’s discussion of industrial decline and foreign investment, of values voters and charter school reform, of the ephemerality of single-class high school basketball and the endurance of pork tenderloin, you name it. But I also got the impression of a state adrift: of people trying a little of this and a little of that, still attached to the idea of a distinct Hoosier outlook but frustrated by the difficulty of applying it to new challenges.

More than sixty years ago, the journalist John Bartlow Martin reported that Indiana had “lost its conviction that things would work out,” but here I am in 2014, having finished Madison’s new book and wondering if that’s still what an observer would say about us, based on the record of recent decades. Do you think that Madison is still too close to his subject to know how things will play out? Or did you gain the impression from these final chapters that something about Jim’s Indiana Way does keep this state from realizing its promise? Are there other approaches (maybe you see them in your own state, or elsewhere altogether) to the challenge of maintaining prosperous, vital communities in a time of global migration and global trade? Or is Indiana’s challenge—adapting to the future without losing sight of the past—really America’s challenge?

RN: I like Eric’s formulation about the last three chapters of *Hoosiers* as a portrait of a state adrift. My initial impression was that Jim Madison had lost his focus in these chapters and, upon reflection, I wondered if it was my own nearness to the subject matter that made it all seem to lack coherence: I couldn’t step far enough back to see the patterns.

A broader story here, to my mind, is ultimately related to the rise of mass culture over the course of the long twentieth century. As time went on, the homogenizing effects of that mass culture took hold—sure, there

were unique ways in which given groups or locales used and interpreted it, but in the long term, people in the United States became more alike. In a consumer society, we increasingly define who we are by what we consume, and in suburban and urban America in particular, we are consuming more and more of the same things. As more Hoosiers become suburbanites, they become more like suburbanites across the nation, not just down the road in Ohio or Illinois. (I've long claimed that regional differences were most strongly apparent in rural areas.)

But the rise of mass media also pushes people in a different direction: people begin to recognize that that which they once thought uniquely "Hoosier" is actually apparent in others. They discover that the Indiana Way is also the Ohio Way, and so on. And they begin to imagine affinities with folks outside the state, particularly as they struggle with many of the same issues. As Hoosiers of one group or another come into conflict with their Indiana neighbors, they are more likely to find friends in other places. Moreover, our survival no longer depends upon our finding peace—however uneasy—with those who occupy nearby space. I am not writing another "community goes smash" thesis, but rather suggesting that we have created new communities that transcend geographical space, particularly in this Internet era.

Finally, I agree that there remains a longing for a quality that is distinctively Hoosier, but I'm struck, in hearing Eric's mention of pork tenderloin, by how much these ideas of distinctiveness are driven by consumption and mass media. Now I love pork tenderloin very much—just had one a week ago when I was in the state—but I don't recall it being considered uniquely Hoosier until fairly recently (not that it really is, since it is popular in the Upper Midwest as well). But now the Internet and even cooking magazines are littered with references to its Hoosier character, as foodies go off in search of authentic American fare. Likewise, I might point to Hoosier Sugar Cream Pie, which the Internet has raised almost to the level of the pork tenderloin as a good consumed by Hoosiers. I don't recall ever having had such a pie in my life, despite growing up in the portion of Quaker Indiana where it is supposed to dominate (thanks, Wikipedia) in a family whose roots intertwine with the Quakers back to North Carolina. Perhaps Hoosiers are inventing these cultural commonalities because so little else unites them (and even then it makes me wonder, insofar as pork tenderloin is not likely to be eaten by strict adherents to Islam or Judaism).

In the end, Hoosiers are just muddling through like the rest of us, trying to find their way in the world while maintaining their sense of who they are. If Hoosiers in the past embraced the notion of an Indiana Way that

set their state apart from the others, theirs was a hubris that afflicted many in the other states as well. I do think that Hoosiers need to be reminded that the problems that afflict parts of the state are problems, thanks to its being a singular political entity, that affect everyone. In Michigan, there has been some recent recognition that Detroit can't just be left to itself, and that recognition is salutary compared to the recent past. Wherever we are, we need to broaden our definition of "we." We need to have a commitment to the folks down the street and down the road, even if we don't always agree with them (or perhaps I should say, ourselves).

AC: I can't avoid reflecting on my own dilemma in writing a history of Ohio more than a decade and a half ago. The most difficult part to write was that dealing with the period from the 1970s to the present. In part, the challenge was to disassociate myself as much as possible from my own experience; it's harder to write professionally about something you witnessed than it is about the eighteenth century, which is where I usually live my life as a scholar. But the personal angle raises a larger dilemma. Historians tend to believe in contingency; we (usually) don't feel comfortable predicting the future; we don't develop models or anticipate outcomes. Equally important, dates largely define our work. I remember one of my graduate school professors lamenting in seminar that the hardest challenge was to decide when to begin and when to end. I grasped that on some level; history, after all, is about change over time. But the older I get, the more totally I agree with him. And because we are living *in media res*, it's virtually impossible to have an end date. Libraries are full of books written on the assumption that something would probably happen that never did. My maternal grandfather, who was a high school social studies teacher, remarked as he was coming to the end of 86 years (he was born in 1898) that the most important thing that happened in his lifetime was the "invention" of computers. That surprised me, given that I expected him to say cars, planes, one of the world wars, civil rights, etc. In retrospect, I am stunned by how prescient he was. But maybe it was just a lucky guess.

All of this is by way of saying that I think Jim Madison did as good a job as anyone could have done in his last chapters. I agree that the book does lose some of the focus and narrative drive that distinguishes the book as a whole. But I'm not sure how that could have been avoided. It's hard to focus when you no longer know where you're going. The end date, much as we all hate to be whiggish scholars, structures our books. Without it, we're at sea.

I'd like to conclude by expressing my own skepticism about state or even regional distinctiveness. As I've written elsewhere, I believe that identity is mainly a matter of the stories we tell about ourselves, stories in which we define ourselves as being different from someone else in terms of race, religion, gender, or place. I long since gave up saying there is anything particular about Indiana or the Midwest. But I greatly respect a large number of people who insist that they are distinctive for some reason or another because they will act on that assumption, whether it's true or not. (The best pork tenderloin I've ever eaten, by the way, was in Germany.) State and regional identity often matter to people who feel that their "way of life" is disappearing, although usually they can't define that way of life until they consider it to be under threat. And like most memories, that sense of identity circles concrete, personal things: landscapes, food, buildings, and people. In the rural Midwest today, it is often about a more homogeneous, simpler time when small towns were busy places and populations were less diverse. No wonder so much of the talk about state and regional identity builds on fragments of memories, spinning the pleasure of something we once knew into a larger culture that is worth preserving because we no longer have it. The only thing historians know about the future is that it will be different. Things change; we just don't know how.

ADK: As historians, what we can say about the recent past differs from what we can say about earlier times. The recent past is both easier and harder for us to evaluate. Jim Madison has shown us one of the ways historians help us to make sense of the recent past—by linking it to earlier history that has had time to emerge. Madison sets out an Indiana history largely set by World War I. The twentieth century unfolds as a reaction to events and people that have come before. Madison provides an essential context in which to consider recent history. His insights offer the reader the historian's wider view, a perspective borne of the past that shapes how we think about recent Indiana history.

That said, there are some areas of Indiana's more recent history that do not fit so neatly into its historical context. One is the dramatic growth of Indianapolis. As the twelfth-largest city in the United States, Indianapolis is a story that urban historians (none more than Purdue University's Jon Teaford) have encouraged us to consider seriously. With more than one and one-half million inhabitants in its urban region, Indianapolis cannot be ignored. I think this is a critical point. While Madison does include Indianapolis within his history, it does not gain center stage, as a city of its size might have in other state histories. He includes it as a part of "uneven

growth” in recent decades (p. 99). I think this is because Madison has focused on the period before 1930. While this approach provides room for the historian’s long view, here it allows a major development to get little attention. A more careful look at Indianapolis might also encourage a wider consideration of recent migration into (and out of) Indiana. This changing population affects how the Indiana Way is considered—by longtime residents as well as by newcomers.

RN: I think Ann Keating is pointing with more force and directness in a direction that I have been circling around. The quality of “Indiana-ness” (“Hoosier-ness”?) seems connected, in many folks’ minds, to rural or small-town values—or at least it is to the folks who think there is such a thing as “Indiana-ness.” The danger of writing a history of Indiana is that it needs to encompass all who are citizens in that geographical and political space, even those who don’t fit into the definition of Hoosier or who may not even claim it for themselves. I think that Madison has done a pretty good job of interrogating many of these exclusions, but I think that Ann is right in saying that the legacies of the pioneer period form an incomplete structure for our understanding of post-Second World War Indiana. To tie this point back to other things that have been said here, the narration of a state history coheres a lot more readily when it focuses on distinctiveness, rather than on similarities. That may be the trap that ensnares all state histories.

In any case, I do think the story of Unigov lends itself to a distinctive Indiana history, and one that says a lot about the relationship between Indianapolis and the rest of the state, at least circa 1970. I’d like to have seen a lot more about it in Madison’s book, but here I am probably condemning him for not writing the book I would have written.

